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ARCHAEOLOGY IN 1920-21

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In the archaeological world, the year 1920 witnessed further progress towards a return to pre-war conditions. Before the end of the year, all the foreign schools in Athens, except the Austrian, were once more open, although the German School had no students and all were hampered by the prevailing high prices and the fluctuations of foreign exchange. The British School was the only one that was able to undertake any extensive work of excavation. This was at Mycenae, where a campaign of several weeks, under the direction of Mr. Wace, led to several interesting discoveries.¹ The regions explored were especially the space between the Lion Gate and the Circle of Graves and the ruins of the palace on the top of the hill.

Between the Lion Gate and the Grave Circle, a large building which Schliemann partially excavated was completely cleared. This structure is peculiar in being built up to the city wall, and it presents a number of unusual features in long corridors, traces of two, and possibly three, stories, and a staircase lighted by a window. Schliemann records that he found here remains of grain, and his report is confirmed by the new examination, which produced carbonized remains of several grains, wheat, barley, and millet or vetches. These were stored, not in *pithoi*, as at Knossos and elsewhere in Crete, but in tall, tublike receptacles of unbaked clay, like the *kotselles* still used by the peasants of Argolis for storing their produce. The theory, therefore, that this was a royal granary seems well founded. Even more interesting was the discovery, underneath the floor of the central room of the building, of a shaft grave similar in character to those discovered by Schliemann and Stamatakis inside the Grave Circle. The contents had been removed in antiquity, presumably in Mycen-

¹ See the "Literary Supplement" to the *London Times* for June 24 and August 19, 1920. The excavations were continued in the spring of 1921, but I have seen no statement of the results.

aeon times, but some relics remained, including nineteen gold discs with rosette patterns, some half dozen beads of glass paste, two lead vessels, much crushed, and two pieces of worked ram's horn from a helmet. All this suggests a burial contemporary with those in the Circle, and its relation to the other graves is an interesting problem. It may, of course, have been found accidentally, when the foundations of the granary were being laid, and simply plundered. On the other hand, as Mr. Wace points out, its location suggests that round about the Royal Graves, as they were originally constructed, were others, presumably not royal in character. Like many other scholars, he believes that the circular wall of slabs was built to mark the site of the Royal Graves when the great wall of defense was constructed about the citadel, an event which he would date soon after 1400 B. C. At the same time, he argues, the contents of the other, non-royal graves were removed and placed inside the Circle. For this theory, several arguments can be advanced. Inside the circle, but outside the Shaft Graves, Schliemann and Stamatakis found the remains of eight skeletons, together with vases and ornaments similar to those in the graves; south of the Circle, Schliemann found several vases and some jewelry in what he believed to be a grave, though later archaeologists have generally denied that it was one; in this region, Tsountas found some disused graves; and under the floor of a house, south of the Circle, the English excavators discovered a grave of earlier date than the Shaft Graves.

This South House, as Mr. Wace calls it, presents several interesting features. Its stone walls are preserved to a height of five feet, and still show the positions of wooden ties set in the stone base to support an upper wall of crude brick; traces of a stairway point to the existence of an upper storey; and evidence for a flat roof appeared in many pieces of cement with a thick backing of clay, still showing the impression of leaves from the branches on which the clay was laid.

The further examination of the ruins on the summit of the hill also yielded interesting results. The palace was found to have been built in terraces, with at least two floor-levels, and so to be more closely analogous to the Cretan palaces than has been believed.

Examination of the levels below the pavement of the courtyard brought to light many fragments of what Mr. Wace calls Middle Helladic pottery, dating between 2000 and 1600 B. C.,¹ showing that the site was occupied long before the building of the present palace, which, to judge from the pottery found in it, dates from about 1400-1200 B. C.

Finally, the Treasury of Atreus was subjected to a very careful investigation, in the hope of throwing some light on its date. One stone of the threshold was lifted, and under it was found a deposit of gold leaf, a few beads of faience, cornelian, or paste, some bronze nails, fragments of ivory, and part of a painted vase of typical late Mycenaean style. Similar fragments came to light in the foundations of the southern entrance wall of the tomb, pointing to 1400-1200 B. C. as the date of the building.

The conclusions which Mr. Wace draws from the evidence of the new excavations are as follows. The first settlement on the hill may be dated in the Early Helladic period. In the Middle Helladic period, Mycenae was already a flourishing city, and the earliest interments in the Shaft Graves are those of the last rulers of this time. In the first phase of the Late Helladic period (about 1600-1400 B. C.), Mycenae was evidently a very rich and flourishing state, as is shown by the contents of the later Shaft Graves. It was still unfortified, and in this regard presents interesting analogies with Knossos and the other Cretan cities. In the later phase of the Late Helladic period, the Mycenaean age *par excellence* (about 1400-1200), the great walls were built, together with the Grave Circle and the existing palace, and the whole city appears to have been replanned and rebuilt. The Treasury of Atreus and the other beehive tombs are graves of the dynasts of this time, who may well be the Atridae of the Homeric tradition.

¹ Mr. Wace and Dr. Blegen have worked out a system of classification for the pottery of the mainland during the bronze age. They distinguish three main periods, Early Helladic (about 2500-2000), Middle Helladic (about 2000-1600), and Late Helladic (about 1600-1100), each with subdivisions. A brief account of the system is published in the *Annual of the British School in Athens*, XXII, 175 ff., and it is worked out in more detail in Dr. Blegen's book, *Korakou: a Prehistoric Site near Corinth*, soon to be published by the American School at Athens.

These conclusions, naturally, have not been accepted in all quarters. Several of them are attacked by Sir Arthur Evans.¹ He objects especially to the dating of the palace later than the Shaft Graves and to the late date assigned to the beehive tombs. For him, all are roughly contemporary, assignable to the Middle Minoan III and Late Minoan I periods, about 1700–1500 B. C., and the forms of the palace architecture and the contents of the Shaft Graves point definitely to Crete, suggesting an invasion from Crete and a race of Minoan dynasts at Mycenae. Here, then, we have the beginnings of a controversy, of which we shall doubtless hear more as the English excavations are continued.

The American School undertook no excavation in 1920, but in the spring of 1921, a fund contributed by friends of the School made possible the partial clearing of a prehistoric settlement at Zygouries. This is a low mound near the village of Hagios Vasilios, about halfway between Corinth and Mycenae, where Dr. Blegen had noticed vase fragments and other indications of occupation during the bronze age. Remains of all three Helladic periods were brought to light. Especially important are numerous foundation walls of houses of the Early Helladic age. These exhibit considerable variety in plan, but all seem to include a square chamber, quite different in scheme from the long, rectangular *megaron* of Mycenaean days. Among the small objects from this level are a small terracotta figurine representing a woman, a button-seal of terracotta, and a fine bronze dagger, which are the first objects of their kind to be found on the mainland. From the Late Helladic period, the most noteworthy discovery was a potter's workshop. Two rooms, connected by a doorway, were cleared, and were found to be filled with vases, many of them standing in high stacks. All were of Late Helladic style and quite unused. Among them were five large, deep craters, three very large and nine smaller stirrup vases, more than 275 unpainted deep bowls for cooking, about 75 diminutive saucers, 20 small jars, some 40 painted cylixes, as well as ladles, cups, jugs, and coarse pots in smaller quantities. Although the

¹ In a letter to the *Times*, published in the "Literary Supplement" for July 15, 1921.

building had been destroyed by fire, many of the vases were unbroken. It is expected that the work at Zygouries will be continued next spring, if funds can be raised to defray the expense.

In the not too distant future, it is hoped that the School will have a regular income for purposes of excavation. The Carnegie Corporation has made a grant of \$100,000 for the endowment of the School, on condition that before July 1, 1925, an additional sum of \$150,000 be raised. The Trustees and the Managing Committee feel sure that they can meet this condition, but they will need the active support of all who are interested in the School and its work.

Among the undertakings of the Greeks, one of the most interesting is the exploration of the site called Marmara on Mount Oeta. Here were found remains of a great altar, with quantities of ashes and broken offerings damaged by fire, showing that the altar had been in use from the sixth century to Roman times. Inscriptions on many of the fragments of vases show that they were dedicated to Heracles, and two small statuettes of the hero and a good-sized club in bronze were found. All this makes it clear that the altar was dedicated to the worship of Heracles and suggests that it marked the spot where he was believed to have built a pyre and met his death to escape the tortures of the robe of Nessus. Nearby was found the lower part of a Doric temple, which may be the temple of Athena on Mount Oeta mentioned by Pausanias (X. 22. 1).

At Epidaurus, the Greeks have continued at intervals the work on the sanctuary of Asclepius begun in 1881. A brief account of recent discoveries is given by Mr. Cavvadias in the first number of a new Athenian review, *L'Acropole*. This covers the years 1916 and 1918, when a considerable area near the Propylaea was explored. Among the buildings uncovered, the most important is a basilica of Roman date, associated with a colonnaded market-place, and a smaller structure, which Mr. Cavvadias interprets as a Roman villa. In both these buildings were very beautiful and well-preserved mosaic floors. Among the inscriptions found are several which relate to the Achaean League. One, which Mr. Cavvadias dates 223 B. C., records amendments

to the constitution of the League incident to the admission of the Macedonians and their allies; another gives the text of a treaty made with the Epidaurians when Epidaurus was admitted (242 B. C.); and a third contains a list of the *nomographoi* of the League.

From Pagasae in Thessaly, the discovery of a Mycenaean palace in a good state of preservation is reported, but I have seen no more than the mere statement of fact.

Among interesting new undertakings is the proposal of the town of Chios to restore, at the expense of the community, the great Altar of the Chians at Delphi, a monument of the fifth century, B. C. This proposal, to quote a Greek journalist, proves that "modern Chios is a pious heir of ancient Chios. But recently freed from the yoke of slavery, she takes thought for the fame of her glorious ancestors."

In Rome, the most striking discovery that I have noted is that of a large underground tomb near the Viale Manzoni, between the Via di Porta Maggiore and the Via di Santa Croce in Gerusalemme. This was found by chance, when workmen engaged in laying foundations for a garage came upon the vault of an underground room, elaborately decorated with paintings. Careful excavations carried out by government officials showed that the room measured some 4.43 by 4.93 meters and was connected by stairways with several smaller built chambers and with galleries hewn out of the rock. Numerous arched niches prove that the whole was used as a tomb, and an inscription in the mosaic floor of the larger chamber shows that it was built by a certain Aurelius Felicissimus for his brothers and fellow freedmen. Although the tomb was plundered, apparently in ancient times, the frescoes of the large room are remarkably well preserved. The walls were decorated with twelve standing male figures from 1.04 to 1.13 meters tall, one of which was afterwards destroyed but the cutting through of a doorway. All are dressed in white tunics with red borders, over which are white cloaks draped in various ways. Some hold scrolls in their hands, others have one arm extended, as if they were addressing an audience. The faces suggest portraits. Above these figures are several extended com-

positions in friezes or lunettes. In one of the friezes, Ulysses converses with Penelope, who stands by her loom, in the presence of several men, who are perhaps to be interpreted as some of the suiters; in another is represented a city, near the gate of which a man on a prancing horse, followed by a crowd of people, is met by a procession of citizens. In one of the lunettes, the walls of a city fill the background and in the foreground are rustic villas and groups of feeding animals; in another, there are similar groups of animals and above them a bearded man reading from an open roll. Even the ceiling is decorated with figures in medallions or in rectangular frames. Among these are four examples of a youthful figure carrying a lamb on his shoulders, recalling the representations of the "Good Shepherd" which are common in the Catacombs. All these paintings may reasonably be assigned to the second half of the second century after Christ, the date suggested by the name of the builder, and the galleries and the smaller chambers, one of which contains some paintings, are probably not later than the first half of the third century. Dr. Bendinelli, who first published the results of the excavation,¹ is inclined to argue that the hypogaeum was built for the members of a "Christian, but heretic" community, basing his belief on the figures of the "Good Shepherd" and the possibility that the twelve male figures represent the Twelve Apostles. But the early date and the pagan character of the rest of the decoration make such a theory difficult, and it is most probable that the tomb is purely pagan. The paintings, in any case, are among the most important frescoes discovered in Rome.

At Tivoli, excavations near the Cathedral brought to light the ruins of a rectangular hall, built by a certain Varenus Diphilus, a freedman. It had an apse at one end, in which was found the base for a statue, inscribed *pro salute et reditu Caesaris Augusti*. In front of this were fragments of a seated statue, including the head, but since the features are not very similar to those of Augustus, it seems likely that here, as in so many other cases,

¹ His official report, with many illustrations, appears in the *Notizie degli Scavi*, 1920, 123-141, and a brief account, with three excellent figures, in *Art and Archaeology* for April, 1921 (Vol. XI, 169-172).

the original head was replaced by the head of a later emperor. In the famous villa of Hadrian, the ruins near the Stadium, to the east of the space called the Poikile, have been shown by investigation to belong to a bath, as had been conjectured. (They are called a "Temple of Venus and Diana" on old plans). Three rooms with hypocausts have been uncovered, including a large, circular apartment with a domed roof, as well as parts of a *frigidarium*.

From Ostia, the latest reports record work on a group of ruins between the Via Decumana and the storehouses, on a block of buildings west of the temple of Vulcan, and in the quarter north of the Porta Romana. In the first of these regions were found the walls of a series of shops opening on the Via Decumana, each with a small room behind it. These give evidence of numerous minor rearrangements, and finally of a gradual remodelling of several of the rooms in the rear into a form which resembles a basilica and was probably used as a church by an early Christian community. In its final form, it included a nave, with three divisions, and two apses. Curiously enough, the inscriptions and the sculptures found in clearing this structure were almost all pagan and seem to come from filling earth dumped in this locality after the building was in ruins, or perhaps from upper stories. The most interesting of the sculptures is a colossal group in Parian marble, of which almost every fragment was recovered. It represents Commodus and Crispina as Mars and Venus. The type of the group is one which is familiar in several late Roman examples, made by combining replicas of the Borghese Ares and the Aphrodite of Melos. The head of the female figure, however, is not the original one, and the male head, which is now beardless, shows clearly that it was formerly bearded. Apparently, therefore, the group originally represented some earlier Imperial pair, probably Marcus Aurelius and Faustina.

To the west of the temple of Vulcan, the principal discoveries were walls of three houses, apparently of the "apartment house" type now so familiar at this site, and the remains of a temple, resting on the ruins of two earlier temples. In its latest form, this consisted of a hall, with a long, low platform on the side opposite

the entrance, and several pedestals for statues around it. The plan is similar to that of the sanctuary of the Imperial family in the barracks of the *vigiles*, and many fragments of official records of Augustales were found in the neighborhood, so that the temple is believed to have been an Augusteum.

The excavations near the Porta Romana revealed the fact that various structures were built close up to the wall, both inside and outside, a proof that this was not a real wall of defense, at least in the later centuries of the city's history. Of the small objects found here, the most interesting is an altar, with an inscription of which the greater part could be made out, in spite of the fact that an attempt had been made to chisel out the letters. It runs: *Aram Nymphis Sanctis Amnion Aug(ustorum) n(ostorum) ser(vus) liberatus numine earum gravi infirmitate,¹ fecit dicavitque . . . idus J[an?] Anullino iterum et Frontone co(n)s(ulibus)*. The date, which is the year 199 A. D., shows that the Augusti mentioned as the masters of Amnion are Septimius Severus and Caracalla. The nature of the *gravis infirmitas* is suggested by a relief crudely carved near the bottom of the altar, representing a dog running to right, and behind it a man who has been thrown down and raises both arms in supplication. Presumably it was hydrophobia (or the fear of it) from which the Nymphs, goddesses of springs and healing waters, "freed" Amnion.

At Arezzo, investigations begun in 1916 and continued in 1918, to discover, if possible, remains of the ancient town walls of brick mentioned by Vitruvius (II. 8.9) and Pliny (*N.H.* XXXV. 173) have now been made the subject of a detailed report.² A section of the wall, 10.50 meters long, 4.50 thick, and 1.30 high, was finally found near the Via di Catona, a short distance north of the modern city, on the slope of the hill below the Cathedral. It is built of bricks only slightly baked and bright red in color, measuring in Roman feet $1\frac{1}{2}$ by 1 by $\frac{1}{2}$. The many fragments of Etrusco-Campanian vases found in the stratum below the wall and also under single scattered bricks suggests that its existence covers the period when these vases were in vogue, that is, from the

¹ I omit two lines of which only a few letters could be made out.

² *Not. Scav.* 1920, 167-215.

end of the fourth century to the early years of the first century, B. C., and the absence throughout the excavated area of fragments of the characteristic red Arretine pottery, which began to be manufactured about the middle of the first century, B. C., points in the same direction. Very probably the wall was dismantled by Sulla's troops in 81 B. C. It is interesting, too, that in dimensions the bricks agree very closely with those which Vitruvius and Pliny called Lydian, implying that this type was derived from the East. Among the small objects found were numerous architectural pieces, including fragments of stone columns and capitals, bits of painted wall-plaster, pieces of mosaic pavement, and many architectural terracottas. Some of these show traces of burning, and the whole mass apparently came from a number of different buildings. Among the terracottas are several fine heads and other fragments of well-modelled figures, datable on grounds of style to the third and the second centuries, B. C.

Finally, at Cyrene, the excavation of the "temple of Apollo" has been carried further. The present building is of Roman construction, but underneath it parts of the original Greek temple of the fifth century have been found. Nearby, other smaller shrines have been uncovered. One contained a seated statue of Apollo Citharoedus, another was a temple of oriental divinities. In the latter were some good sculptures, including a colored statuette (possibly a figure of Atargatis), dressed in a green tunic and a red cloak, with hair and eyes gilded. In the Agora, the temple of Zeus, identified by a standing statue of the god, has been completely cleared. And the Tabularium, or Record Office, with niches in the walls and inscriptions recording dedications by *νομοφύλακες* has been found.